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Social Progress

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v. 39-40

SEPTEMBER 1948

June 1950

84661
V. 39-40
1948/49-49/50

Vol. XXXVIII

Social Progress

No. 1

DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION
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Articles represent the opinions of the authors, and not the official policy of the Division of Social Education and Action or the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, $1.00 a year; three years for $2.50. Single copy, 15 cents. Group rates on request.

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The "Holy War"

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PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

MAX LERNER, *of the* **New York Star**, *analyzed "three alternatives" at the Presbyterian Emergency Peace Conference in New York, May, 1948.*

A LOT of my friends are very much worried about what's happening to China or what's happening to freedom in Russia, or what's happening in the Western Hemisphere, in the United States of America, in their own state, in their own local community, in their own church, in their own family. Their concern about freedom is in direct proportion to the distance of the object from themselves. But I'm terribly concerned about the role of our country in the world crisis. The picture that we keep getting all the time from press and radio, and sometimes from church, is a picture of two ideologies arrayed against each other. The distance between them is deep and black . . . .

I'd like to make the suggestion that it is not a struggle of ideologies. It is just being dressed up that way. If it were true that these ideologies cannot live in the same world, why wasn't that true from 1917 on? We've had the Russian system and the American system in the world for thirty-one years now. In so far as I know my history, we did not add a single soldier to the American armies during that period because of anything that Russia was or did.

The Russian system has remained basically the same. I don't think it is a good system. I wouldn't want to live under it because I think it denies the crucial thing of any human experience, which is capacity to be yourself, to fulfill yourself as a thinking person as well as an economic person. It denies the competition of ideas; it denies that the validity of an idea is to be tested by the impact it has on people's minds. Nevertheless, I do not myself want to exert

the kind of moral imperialism that says, While this is not for me it must not be for you either. But the Russian system, with its faults and its merits—the merits of repudiating race prejudice and dealing with the problem of economic inequality—is what it was since 1917.

Nor has the American system changed. We are still a capitalist democracy. We are still the greatest productive power in the world. Why is it then that these two systems which existed for over thirty years side by side without radical and basic conflict, although not liking each other, suddenly have become incompatible? I think what has developed is a simple and naked struggle for power. You say, "Why did that struggle begin in 1945?", and I think the answer is that World War II and a lot of other things that preceded it destroyed all the great powers except two. A vacuum was left in Europe by the destruction of Nazi power, and a vacuum was left in Asia by the destruction of Japanese power and the retreat of the British Empire. The Russians moved into the vacuum in Europe—they were faster than we were. They were on the spot; they were more ruthless; they knew how to do it. And we moved into the vacuum in the Far East, occupying Japan and the Pacific island bases. That's where we are now, and we're still struggling for position. If you look at it on those terms, you will look at it honestly, but if you try to dress it up as a basic ideological incompatibility, then you're not telling the truth. If you're one of the ruling groups in Russia or in America—one of the "movers and shakers," as I call them—you have to dress it up that way because otherwise how are you going to get the people to fight? How are you going to get the people to produce? How are you going to get the draft? You can do it only by a "holy war" psychology. It's being done in America and it's being done in Russia, because the Russians have the same problem. They lost twenty to thirty million in World War II. They were hit harder than were any other people in the world. It's really hard to drum up war fever

among war-weary people, unless it is in terms of a "holy war."

Also, there is a psychological problem. What you have is two powers, each of which has a new confidence and a new fear. The Russians have a new revolutionary confidence which they didn't have in the '30's. They had been terrified of the Nazi power; but they found out in World War II that they could survive, and they emerged from that war with a new, terrific sense of confidence. Also, as at the end of any war, the world was more ripe for revolution than it had been before and the Russians know this. So they are in a stage of revolutionary fervor in which they want to do more than build socialism in one country; they would like to see socialism spread as far as possible.

Now the American movers and shakers are scared—these tough men: Mr. Forrestal and Admiral Leahy and General Marshall, and all the big businessmen with whom they are linked. They're scared of ideas which they cannot grasp and understand, and of the people who are moved by these ideas. They look out at the world and what do they see? They see Britain—which has always been the bulwark of Toryism and conservatism—gone socialist. They see France—whose struggles are not between capitalism and socialism, but between different brands of socialism. And they see through the Balkans and in the east of Europe that feudalism has broken down and communism has swept in. They look at Asia and they see new-awakening peoples. They see the British Empire having to relax its grip on India, and a new India is also debating what kind of socialism it will have. They see a China that is ripped in two, with one half linked with the Russians and thinking in terms of some kind of communism. They look at Latin America and they find no stability there. They say to themselves, "What kind of world is this we live in?" They're scared of this world because they've always dealt in tangibles: in money, in power, in commodities, in indexes, in statis-

tics, in profits, in wages. Yet here they find themselves in a world full of intangibles that they don't understand and can't grasp. And what you don't understand you're scared of.

So what you have is power, the naked struggle for power plus this new revolutionary confidence in both countries plus the terrible sense of fear of each other. And I think that's what is creating this crisis. People are talking about, "Will it be an American century or will it be a Russian century?" And I say why does it have to be either? I wouldn't want to live in a Russian world and, frankly, I wouldn't want to live in a world dominated by American imperialism! I hold with Abe Lincoln: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master." I wouldn't want to live in a world of American century any more than I would want to live in a world of the Russian century.

I think there are three alternatives that confront the world. One is empire—just as Rome ruled the world, so either America or Russia has the rule of the world. That's one alternative. The second is chaos. And chaos, to my mind, would flow almost inevitably from the efforts to establish empire. Because I don't believe we're going to establish an empire without a war. And I think that out of a war will come a chaos such as we've never seen before. Arnold Toynbee speculates, in his gentle and mild way, about what people will survive an atomic bomb war. He finally fixes upon the Bantu pygmies in Central Africa as the ones who will in all probability survive. He says it is fortunate that it will be they, because they have, we are told by anthropologists, some ideas of religion and brotherhood which the rest of us do not have.

Alternative number three is world law. World law—the starting of the UN—which will eventually become a genuine world government and will bring about a century of the common people. Three alternatives—empire, chaos, or law. I see nothing else.

CHRISTIANS AND THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL ORDER

DAVID E. SWIFT, *Associate Professor of Religion at Lincoln University, relates the profit motive to the will of God.*

It is our privilege and obligation as Christians, in every aspect of practical living, to work with God toward justice, life-giving order, and creative freedom.

"Then the King will say to those at his right hand, 'Come, O blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, . . . I was naked and you clothed me . . . .' Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when did we see thee hungry and feed thee, or thirsty and give thee drink? And when did we see thee . . . naked and clothe thee? . . .' And the King will answer them, 'Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me.'" *(Matt. 25: 34–40, R. S. V.)*

Does this passage mean only that we should do something for needy people who cross our paths, or does it also mean responsibility for a productive economy, aimed primarily at meeting men's essential needs for food and clothing?

There are three major ethical issues in our contemporary industrial system which Christians have no business side-stepping: (1) What are the nature and responsibilities of property ownership? (2) What type of motivation toward economic activity is both productive and Christian. (3) What position is to be taken in relation to the struggle between management and labor? In facing each of these issues, the social scientists' descriptive analyses of contemporary facts and historical trends are indispensable but represent no solution. Our economic order will grow in health or deteriorate primarily as a result of the way of thinking and acting of the millions who are not expert economists, the millions who are voters and Government officials, business executives, union members, ministers and laymen.

A decisive characteristic of any people's economic system is reflected in their view of property. Property can be defined as that which is of value to human beings, its value depending upon both its scarcity and its usefulness. Does our Christian insight necessarily condition our view of property ownership? Is the traditional Christian emphasis valid, that possession of property carries with it the responsibility to use it to good purpose, to the benefit of self and others? If this emphasis is valid, can we fairly claim that the modern capitalist-industrial order in Amer-

ica is based on responsible ownership and use of property? In modern industry, ownership and control often lie in different hands. A tiny minority of shareholders or nonowner managers may control the policy of a corporation. If ownership necessarily carries with it responsibility for the right use of property, is the average stockholder discharging his obligations or a rightful recipient of dividends?

Granted that a case can be made for the practical effectiveness of private ownership in a competitive society, is ownership in the United States really private today, and is the economy competitive? The assets of the 200 largest corporations in 1930 amounted to nearly half the corporate wealth of the nation. Moreover, 207 of the 4,000 corporate members of the National Association of Manufacturers are able to control its policy. (See C. F. Craig, editor, *The Challenge of Our Culture*, Harper & Brothers, 1946.) It has been aptly said that the managerial revolution has built "empires of collectivist, corporate property whose only right to be called 'private' is that no effective social controls have been erected to safeguard consumers, workers and small enterprises." (V. N. Hughley, in *The Christian Way in Race Relations*, Harper & Brothers, 1948.) Although our industrial order may necessitate large and highly centralized economic organizations, the inescapable moral question remains to whom and for what end the management of such corporations should be answerable.

Related to the question of the morality of large corporations devoted to building monopolies, price-fixing, and other measures for the maximum profit of shareholders is the question of the actual effectiveness in terms of economic productivity of our modern system of corporate economic enterprise. Any consideration of the practical effectiveness of one or more types of economic organization at once introduces the question of economic motivation, What sort of incentive actually arouses human effort? Is it fair to say that our capitalistic system assumes that the "profit incentive" is the motive that arouses the greatest effort on man's part? Does not this assumption imply that man's acquisitive character is the chief clue to his whole nature? Can this view be reconciled with the nature of man as revealed in the New Testament or as known in our own experience of ourselves and our fellows? If there is an irreconcilable discrepancy here, can we continue to support an economic system built on man's individualistic, competitive drives to the exclusion of his social character and the demands of Christian corporateness? (We are severally parts of one organic body.) Both our Christian convictions and our pragmatic interest in concrete results point to the same answer. Consider

the words of an economist: "The war crisis has shown that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with our productive machinery, but that it takes a social dynamic other than individual profit-seeking plus Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' to make it run at reasonably full capacity. . . . A continuous market demand—whether for consumers goods or capital goods—must be present if profit-expecting business enterprises are to maintain the national income at a given level. If there is not sufficient demand by business firms for new factories or new equipment, the national income is bound to fall, because part of the income paid out is saved and not spent for consumers goods, and if this is not invested in capital goods it just does not get spent at all, and thus decreases the total market demand. . . .

"The all-important economic reality of our world is that mass-production requires mass-consumption, and this means vigorous mass-purchasing power which, in turn, means mass welfare. . . . From this it follows that the economic security of each person in our industrial society depends upon the economic welfare of all, and this recognition of mutual responsibility for mutual welfare must become the modern counterpart of the 'rugged individualism' of 'freebooting' capitalism. . . . However achieved, there must be a general reorientation of man's economic thinking away from organizing to get the best of one another to organizing to make the most of what we all have.

"What, then, is the 'economic substitute for war'? It is precisely this shift of motivation—this recognition of mutual responsibility for mutual welfare. . . . The change called for in men's hearts is the same one that mankind's great prophets have always called for." (Robert Stevens, *The New Economics and World Peace*, Pacifist Research Bureau, 1944.)

Can the above drastic revision of motivation be achieved by the Church's appealing to individual parishioners, or does the Church have the obligation to work also toward the revision of government so as to encourage or shape a society in which social motivation will have a better chance of survival than in an economy based on individual profit incentive?

A third grave moral problem is involved in the struggle of management and labor over the disposition of income. Our modern industrial order seems at the same time to prove and to attempt to deny the Christian assumption of the corporateness of humanity. Modern industry could not function without co-operation in myriad forms between men who have saved money, men who need goods, and men who have skills, whether they be artisans, managers, or financiers. So large, however, is the average business enterprise that

these parties, each indispensable, may be aware of each other only in the most distant and impersonal sense. Undoubtedly this is one of the reasons that each party has often been slow to recognize the needs or just deserts of the others. For management the welfare of its enterprise in terms of profits, stability, and plant expansion has come before, and sometimes excluded from consideration, the welfare of laborers and consumers. Owners have wanted first of all low wages, high prices, and an excess of labor over employment needs. These primary desires have prompted the use of wage differentials discriminating against women and minority groups; they have also contributed to imperialist exploitation and the repression of home industry in colonial areas.

On the other hand, it is safe to say that the average union member's loyalty to his union and to the labor movement tends to override his loyalty for the enterprise for which he works. His primary goals are high wages, low prices, and full employment. If this be so, is the motivation of the labor movement any more consistent with an ethics based on membership in the Body of Christ than the motivation of management?

If a church is made up largely or entirely of one economic class, it is not likely that there will be comprehensive understanding of industrial problems, and yet few of our churches represent a cross section of the economic community. What is it that discourages the economically less privileged from attending upper-class churches, and vice versa? To be sure, a minister, by virtue of his education, may be able to keep more objectivity than his parishioners. A careful poll in the city of Baltimore has indicated that ministers tend to be more liberal in their views on economic questions than are their congregations. (See V. M. Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Duke University, 1946.) The financial needs of the Church, however, and social contact with the "influential" both tend to soften or eliminate objective criticism of the economic order and that class which is most advantaged by it.

In relation to each of these problems—property ownership, incentive for economic effort, and mutual relations between economic classes—the informed Christian has in his tradition the perspective on human nature and human society which can make of him a relentless and creative critic of his economic order and a leader toward a more just and productive system. This role will, however, be open only to those who, by personal effort and divine grace, become more concerned with the will of God than with their own social or financial position.

THE PRESBYTERIAN POSITION ON ALCOHOL EDUCATION

By **EARL F. ZEIGLER**

Editor, Adult Publications, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education

FOR many decades the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America has made annual pronouncements on the alcohol problem. Not until 1946 did the General Assembly really get down to brass tacks. A few weeks later the Division of Social Education and Action published the complete statement, together with a commentary and study guide, under the title *Let's Face the Issue*, without any idea that it would open a new era in alcohol education by the churches. But as soon as the pamphlet was printed orders poured in from denomination after denomination, from Canada, and from a host of state, district, and national temperance organizations. It was hailed as the most statesmanlike pronouncement that had been made to date by any denomination. The Federal Council of Churches called a special meeting to consider the preparation of a similar statement.

What strategy lay back of this statement?

A year or two before the 1946 meeting of the General Assembly, a man interested in alcohol education approached the secretary of the Presbyterian Division of Social Education and Action and said something like the following: "You Presbyterians hold in your hands the key to unlock the alcohol problem. As a denomination you are neither too far to the left nor way over on the right. Traditionally you have held the respect of thinking men and women by your past pronouncements on the alcohol problem. In my judgment the time has come for the Presbyterian Church to look at this problem more realistically than any church has ever done before, and to make a pronouncement that will recognize the complexity of the alcohol problem and the resources with which to attack it. If Presbyterians will lead the way, a whole new era in alcohol education will be opened, and many other denominations will be anxious to follow."

The secretary of the Division was so impressed that he called a meeting of his committee, together with certain other counselors, and the result was the shaping up of the statement that finally went before the 1946 General Assembly for adoption.

How did the General Assembly approach the problem?

The General Assembly said:

"There are four reasons why alcoholic beverages merit new concern. First, the strength of the social pressures toward drinking is increasing. Second, scientific studies have made available new tools for understanding the problem. Third, only an approach which does not oversimplify the nature of the problem can have a chance of success. Fourth, the accelerated tempo of the machine age exacts an increasing toll of deaths and injuries through the use of alcoholic beverages."

That was getting off to a good start. There was no name-calling, no deploring of conditions with a gesture of despair, no emotional tirade, just a plain, objective assessment of facts that everybody immediately recognized as a description of the actual situation. The remarkable thing about the approach is that wet and dry, the liquor industry and the temperance organizations, the indifferent and the most rabid temperance advocate could all agree.

How are social pressures operating in current life?

Some of these social pressures are direct; more of them are indirect. The increase in the number of Protestant Christians who drink is due not so much to direct pressure to drink as the indirect influence of others who are drinking. Among youth, direct pressure is probably operating more than indirect, because young people demand a lot of conformity to custom in spite of their supposed indifference to authority. Magazine, newspaper, and radio advertising also exert pressure to drink in order to be "people of distinction who live graciously."

The result of social pressure, together with other contributing causes, according to a Rutgers University survey, adds up to the alarming fact that 65 out of 100 Americans, 21 years of age and over, now drink alcoholic beverages, either as occasional drinkers (less than three times a week), or regular drinkers (three times a week or oftener).

What aid does the Church extend to the victims of alcohol?

It was indeed a new era in alcohol education by the Church when the General Assembly of 1946 said:

"We begin with pastoral and social concern for alcoholics and excessive drinkers and for their families. Alcoholics, as well as their families, need the full ministry of the Church. We recognize that once drinking has passed a certain point, alcoholism is a disease; that is, the drinking cannot be stopped by a mere resolution on the part of the drinker. He needs treatment, not punishment; understanding, not condemnation."

It took courage for the General Assembly to come out plainly and

take a stand for justice to the alcoholic. If anyone thinks that the Presbyterian Church compromised its testimony against the liquor problem by showing a concern for alcoholics and their families, let him get acquainted with the work of Alcoholics Anonymous; let him get acquainted with just one alcoholic who has found his way back to normal living.

Alcoholism has produced 750,000 Americans who are doomed to premature death unless the right kind of help comes. Nearly 3,000,000 other Americans are drinking so excessively that a large percentage of them will become identified as alcoholics and will need special care and treatment. And when it is recognized that scarcely a man or woman of all these hundreds of thousands will ever live normally again, until help is sought from God, the value of religion becomes all the more obvious. The Church must lend a hand. It is a religious necessity.

What "social pressure" may the Church use?

If social pressure works to produce an increase in the number of drinkers, another kind of social pressure can be used to counteract drinking. This kind of social pressure the Church must learn how to use more effectively.

The General Assembly said:

"Alcohol education in the Church must be persistent and many-sided, reaching adults no less than children and youth, accurate in its facts, uncompromising in its claims, intelligently graded and imaginatively presented. It should proceed despite those who deny there is an alcohol problem or those who believe the problem can be solved by a single act of legislation."

The Division of Social Education and Action was charged with the responsibility of developing and promoting a Church-wide program based on the principles of the 1946 statement. One of the best things the Division has done to date is to have secured Dr. Clifford Earle as a staff member with special responsibility for alcohol education. For several months he has been studying the best ways to reach the entire Church, and a program in line with the General Assembly mandate is already under way.

What three things must be done simultaneously?

The Church will seek: (1) to educate within the Church, and to try to reach the public outside the Church; (2) to bring social pressure to bear upon its own membership to live the nonalcoholic way of life, and to teach its membership and constituency how to bring social pressure to bear on others; (3) to join with other agencies both in education and in social control, using legislation where sufficient majority opinion operates.

Does the Presbyterian Church still advocate national prohibition?

The General Assembly's statement on this point was statesmanlike, Christian, and forward-looking.

"It seems apparent that any program attempting to eliminate the production and use of alcoholic beverages by legislation on a national scale would be unsuccessful unless supported by an overwhelming majority of the people. The advocacy of immediate national prohibition would seem at this time an unwise strategy in moving toward social control of alcoholic beverages. Preoccupation with national prohibition as an immediate objective may run the grave danger of aiding liquor to become even more deeply entrenched in American life."

What kind of legislation is advocated?

The General Assembly mentioned specifically such objectives through legislation as: (1) revision of the alcoholic beverage tax structure; (2) enforcement of laws regarding issuance of liquor licenses and regulation of hours of sale; (3) prevention of sale to minors; (4) social use of public revenue from the sale of alcohol to extend alcohol education, rehabilitate alcoholics, and for the relief of their families; (5) regulation of advertising of alcoholic beverages; (6) local option.

How will the entire Church be reached?

The Sunday church school, the pulpit, the session, the presbytery committee on Social Education and Action, and the Division of Social Education and Action will be the principal media for reaching the entire Church and urging a careful study of the problem.

The Sunday church school through its lesson material, *Kits*, and special literature will inform and motivate. The pulpit will preach, counsel, and lead. The session will accept responsibility for putting alcohol education on the priority list and keeping it there. Each presbytery, through its committee on Social Education and Action, will get under way as quickly as possible and the Division will speed up its efforts as fully as possible in harmony with a sound program.

In the words of the 1946 General Assembly: "Beverage alcohol is a serious social problem, and cannot be ignored. It is also a complex problem and cannot be solved at once. As Christians we intend to act, taking those specific steps which we believe will lead us most surely toward our goals of voluntary abstinence and elimination of the traffic."

MIGRANTS: Neglected Americans

The National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor, of which the Division of Social Education and Action is a charter member, projects an answer.

A SIZABLE segment of our population, through community and state neglect, has been robbed of so many normal American and human rights that it is almost unbelievable. Child labor, substandard living, and a padlock against education have destroyed the rights of children and drastically disturbed the integrity of family life among migrant workers."

These words, from the *Report and Recommendations of the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor* (1947), describe some of the conditions against which the National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor has been formed to work.

The council, which was formed in October, 1947, is composed of individuals and of national, state, and local organizations. It expects to stimulate and assist in the establishment of regional, state, and local citizens' councils and to work with them toward improving the conditions under which migrants live and work. It recognizes the need for a comprehensive, long-term farm-labor program, which will include migrant workers.

Migrant labor, says the council, is cut off from most of the rights and privileges that other American workers enjoy. And the council will work for extension of all such rights and privileges to this group of workers and their families.

Placement of Workers

The first need of migrant, as of other labor, is work. But the difficulties in finding work are much greater than are those of more settled workers. The migrant worker, if he is not well informed as to where work is, can waste a large part of his already irregular working season in wandering from place to place. It is essential that the employer, the migrant worker, and both Federal and state agencies work to use this shifting labor force to the fullest. This means that the worker must be told in advance where he can find work; he must be informed as to what the working and living conditions will be; how long the work will last; where he can go next in his migration. This is unquestionably the most difficult recruitment and placement problem in the United States.

The United States Employment Service needs sufficient funds to extend its regular services to all of the labor market areas and key points along the routes which migrant

workers travel. Placement of migratory workers is not a job that can be handled from established offices alone. Greater effort should be made to transfer workers from agriculture to industry and back again as seasonal demands develop.

Child Welfare

It is quite customary for even very young children of migrant parents to work long hours in the fields. To prevent this, state child-labor laws must be extended to cover employment in agriculture. The child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act should also be made to cover children in industrialized agriculture. In addition, state school-attendance laws must be extended and enforced.

At present children of migrant families are denied the educational advantages that children of more settled parents enjoy. This is due not only to the nature of their parents' occupation, but often also to community attitudes which make these children unwelcome in the schools, and to the fact that many schools are not prepared to meet the special needs of migrant children. Both Federal and state aid, in money and in planning, are necessary if local communities are to give these children equal educational opportunities. The council will work for:

Admission of migrant children of school age to local schools.

Provision of extended school facilities, summer programs, parent education, specially devised units of study for migrant children.

Requirement of the same school attendance of children of migrant families as of the children of permanent residents. Provision of such state and Federal aid as will be needed to make available equal educational opportunities to children of migrant families.

Child-care centers for migrant children are needed. Nutrition, education, and feeding programs should be instituted. These services must be integrated with the basic health, welfare, and education programs of local communities.

Health and Housing

The council will sponsor a bill to provide medical, hospital, dental care, and drugs to migrant workers and their families, by Federal grants-in-aid to states. Many of the rural counties in which migrant workers are employed do not yet have preventive public-health services.

The unsanitary and dangerous housing often furnished migrant workers and their families constitutes one of the major problems of these workers. Beginning in the 1930's, the Federal Government undertook the establishment of labor camps in the major crop areas. That program is now being liquidated and the camps are being sold. There is danger that they will be sold to associations of growers, and form part of

a company housing program. The council endorses:

Sale of the Federally owned camps to state or other public or semipublic agencies, unless and until they are restored to Federal operation.

Re-establishment and extension of the Federal labor-camp program.

Enactment of state laws requiring licensing and regulation of private labor camps.

Inclusion of rural housing in public-housing programs.

Social Security

Migrant labor is for the most part unorganized. It is not now adequately protected by either Federal or state wage laws. Ill-informed, pressed always by immediate need, employed only part time, migrant workers are not able to earn enough to support themselves and their families in decency. The council wants to see the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act extended to agricultural workers, and state laws adopted to provide for prompt and regular payment of migrants' wages in cash, and for collection of unpaid wages.

Migrant workers, except for those in one or two states and territories, are not now eligible for workmen's compensation. But the accident and death rates in agriculture are as high, if not higher, than those in other major industries. The council believes that state workmen's compensation laws should be extended to agricultural workers and that minimum premiums should be reduced to employers so that agricultural workers may have the protection of insurance covering small numbers of workers and for short periods of employment.

A sizable group of workers, needing the benefits of social insurance if they are ever to better their conditions, are now denied that help. The Federal Social Security Act must be extended to all migrant workers, including the benefits of unemployment, old-age, and survivors' insurance, and public assistance; removal by states of residence requirements for such benefits is also essential.

Unless all groups concerned in the migrant labor situation work together, the conditions under which migrant workers and their families work and live will remain shocking and contrary to what we consider the rights of every American citizen.

The workers agreement between the United States and Mexico is very loosely worded, carries absolutely no provisions for inspection or enforcement, makes no Federal, state, county, or local agency of the Government responsible for compliance even with the minimum standards of the contracts. The agreement permits practically anything to be done that the growers and their associations want to do, and our impression is that the United States Employment Service, because of various pressures upon it, is doing nothing but standing by.—*From Report of National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor, June, 1948.*

MAGINOT LINE FOR SALE!

THE Maginot Line—practically as good as new—is offered to the U. S. A. by French Army engineers. The "Line" is in good order, with 48 of the 52 main forts virtually intact, according to the dispatch in *The New York Times* of June 20.

Certainly we do not believe our military authorities would seriously consider the offer. It even seems foolish that the French would suggest that we prepare the Maginot Line for defense in atomic warfare when it did not stop the attack of the Germans with their "conventional armaments." It is impossible to guess what incredible proposals may be made and approved by frightened people in pursuit of security. The Vandenberg resolution passed by the Senate June 11 (with no exploratory debate of its meaning) might open the way for the "incredible." The resolution urges "the association of the U.S. with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid and as it affects national security." If this means we are going to arm Western Europe, the cost according to *The New York Times* "will run into billions."

It is not likely that we will "buy" the Maginot Line. But what can be said of the judgment of Congress in adopting the system which, also originating in France, spread across Europe and has a 155-year record of failure with all nations.

Conscription began in France July 11, 1792, and it was so unpopular that thousands deserted their homes, and the Vendée rose in revolt. Carnot then introduced a workable scheme limiting liability to service to men between 18 and 25. (Our law sets the draft age at 19 to 25– 18-year-olds are encouraged to enlist.) Carnot's plan was accepted by the people because the class that was called upon was not politically strong enough to resist coercion. The draft gave Napoleon his start and has since been the handmaiden of dictators and the scourge of the common people. It has not secured the peace or assured victory in war. It has been supported in Europe, even as in America now, because it was claimed that this system gave young men a better chance to live at peace—or survive in war. The myriads of Europe's finest young men who died in war all had the benefit of years of conscript training, heirs of that promise.

It seems incredible that Congress has now made the draft the law of the land. The system rejected with repugnance by free men during the entire life of our Republic is brought to the U.S.A. with its way lighted by the

still blazing pyres consuming the nations that trusted in it. What could explain such action save the fear of legislators stimulated by the hysteria campaigns? There is reason for concern in the present international situation. There is a fire in this world edifice, and the greatest danger is that frightened nations will destroy themselves in seeking security. We do not believe America is a "league of frightened men." When the sovereign people have a chance to act, this nation's defenses will be returned to a volunteer system consistent with democracy.

THE DRAFT MUST BE REPEALED

"We believe that the system of voluntary recruitment will provide adequate defense if administered by leaders who believe in it," declared General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. We can, as law-abiding citizens, and must as men of conscience who hold the position of the General Assembly, move for the prompt repeal of this law. It will require the "all out" effort of every one of us from this moment. Any considerable period in which this act goes unchallenged aids the draft party and leaves inarticulate the instinctive abhorrence and resistance of free men to the conscript system. Let us not be misled by the limitations of this act to the two-year period. It is not reasonable to expect that after two years of conditioning and indoctrinating free men to this bondage the military will willingly surrender their advantage. If we gain our release, we will have to fight for it. It is more than likely that the military and political advocates of conscription will offer U.M.T. in exchange for the draft!

Pending the repeal of the law, the drafting of our boys calls for the extension of our ministry to and for them. We need to resume the services developed by the churches during the war. Program plans will be offered in early issues of Social Progress. Churches near the camps may expect and require the close co-operation of civil and Army authorities in keeping cities free from vice. Church and neighborhood programs for these boys are of critical importance. The conscientious objectors in the churches are advised to make a statement of their position and register that statement with the Office of the General Assembly, William B. Pugh, Stated Clerk, Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

The campaign for the repeal of the draft will be included by many churches in their special programs on social problems, and will be considered in the light of the pronouncements of the General Assembly.

QUOTING DR. EINSTEIN:
War Is Not Necessary

REV. JOSEPH J. COPELAND, *of Denton, Texas, accompanied by Rev. Paul Stevens, of Taos, New Mexico, visits the great scientist.*

We stood in the living room of Dr. Albert Einstein in Princeton, New Jersey, on May 16, Whitsunday. The Jews celebrate this day of Pentecost for the first fruits of the earth. Christians observe it for the first fruits of the Spirit. For us it was the Christian Pentecost in many respects, for we felt the presence of God in things spiritual.

The Emergency Peace Conference, called by our Division of Social Education and Action, had ended two days previously. The Paul Stevens family and ours were doing a little visiting on our own. Through the humble spirit of Paul Stevens and the graciousness of Dr. Einstein, this interview had been arranged. In the room were many pieces of furniture about which we desired to question, but, realizing the time was too valuable, we confined our questions to the national and international issues of the hour.

Drift Toward the Military

Dr. Einstein expressed concern about the trends in our nation toward military control, saying that in his own country he had experienced step by step the gain of power by the military. With deep feeling, he said, "We must be careful that the same thing does not happen here which happened in Europe!"

Across our minds flashed all the present trends in America toward the military: the military influence in our State Department, the military influence in our foreign policies, the military influence in the United Nations, the military influence in our educational system, the military influence in our national economy. During the past year America spent for the military and related causes eighteen billion dollars. Compare this with twenty-seven million dollars spent on the general budget of the United Nations. We in America spent almost twice as much per day in pursuit of peace through force as all the nations spent in a year in the pursuit of peace through law and understanding. Toynbee states in his *Study of History*, "Militarism has been by far the greatest cause of the breakdown of civilization." Can we adopt the ways that have corrupted and destroyed other civilizations and escape the same fate ourselves?

An interesting side light to this subject in our conversation with Dr. Einstein came when Rev. Paul Stevens told Dr. Einstein that President Truman, during an interview with representatives of our group, had denied the trend and stated that the civilian mind is still in control. Dr. Einstein replied, "Mr. Truman's statement that the civilian mind is still in control would be like asking a falling star why it was falling and having it reply, 'Because I wanted to fall.'"

Destructive Power of Atomic Energy

We asked Dr. Einstein if scientists were right in their emphasis concerning the destructive power of atomic energy. In a reflective manner and with all the caution of his scientific attitude, Dr. Einstein replied, "The destructive power of atomic energy cannot be overemphasized." As we considered this statement, we recalled that Dr. Einstein has written that in his opinion international conflict using atomic energy would destroy from one third to one half of the human race. America, Russia, Japan, England—civilization as we know it today—may be destroyed in a matter of days. We can no longer smile when anyone states that we are in the midnight hour even now.

War Is Unnecessary

"War is unnecessary," the humble scientist said. If the doors are kept open, if the channels of understanding are developed, war is unnecessary.

Dr. Einstein mentioned keeping the doors between America and Russia open, because only a few days before reports had come that Russia had interpreted Ambassador Smith's note to Stalin as being an invitation for consultation. We were in New York then at the United Nations headquarters. We felt a real sense of hope that the immediate trend toward physical conflict might be averted. But the following day the newspapers carried headlines quoting President Truman as saying that the note was not intended to open the door. When the representatives of our group asked the President concerning this action, he stated that America could not afford to open the door for conversation with Russia; that our taking the first step would be an indication of weakness. But what difference does it make who opens the door if through that door the two leading nations of the world can reach an understanding and prevent the holocaust of war which will lead to the destruction of civilization! An interdenominational group of church representatives who had met in Washington a month before our group met had made the statement: "We urge that negotiations with Russia be kept open on the initiative of our Government, and that this be a continuing process."

When asked what two ministers in

two states far removed from the center of things could do, Dr. Einstein replied that clergymen are the channels of information; that they are the avenues through which the people may be kept informed; that they are the means whereby man may learn to settle his differences by law, understanding, and love instead of by hatred, revenge, and force.

We left Dr. Einstein's home realizing how important is the Church. Max Lerner, of the *New York Star*, had said to us a few days before, "We must learn to live together as brothers or die together as rats." Cord Meyer, Jr., president of World Federalists, said, in reference to the United Nations, "Man asked for a house to live in and received a mausoleum in which to bury his dreams."

We recognize that many attempts at peace have failed in the past. We know full well that the United Nations has faltered in many respects, but let us ever be aware of the fact that both in Christianity and the United Nations, it has been the human elements that have failed. The ideals of brotherhood set forth in the New Testament cannot fail except the human element attempting their perfection fail.

Depicted on one of the charts of the United Nations is a symbol, the meaning of which cannot be overemphasized. The organization of the United Nations is represented by a tree. The leaves of the tree are formed by the flags of the member nations. The leaves are vital to the life and growth of the tree. Through them sunshine and food are transformed into life's energy for growth and production. The nations of the world, co-operatively participating, are the heart and core of civilization's growth and progress.

About the roots of the tree is fertile soil. Both the tree and the soil are held in a human hand. Another human hand pushes away the earth in preparation for planting. On these human hands rests the destiny of civilization. With these human hands the ideals of love, understanding, and brotherhood may be nurtured into fuller life, or by these human hands civilization itself may be annihilated. To become effective and operative upon earth, the ideals of Christianity are dependent upon this human element. The Church must guarantee that this human element fails not, but succeeds through the mighty working of the Holy Spirit in man.

Passage of draft law was denounced by the Presbyterian Synod of California and Nevada in a recent resolution: "*Inasmuch as the 21-month draft has been enacted in spite of the expressed opposition of our Church to this departure from historic American policy, we respectfully, but firmly, continue to voice our opposition and call upon the Congress to repeal this peacetime draft.*"

CHRISTIAN ACTION IN GOVERNMENT

ARTHUR B. LANGLIE, *ex-governor of Washington, brought this challenge to the General Assembly.*

EVERY level of government today is faced with problems that seem almost insoluble. They are the problems of a society that is yearly growing more complex. They are the problems that arise from the awful waste and destruction of war, from the struggle for an ever-higher standard of living, from the tensions created by conflicting interests of every kind and character, the world over.

We are all seeking for the right answer to these great issues. We yearn for a solution that will serve and promote the human welfare. In this effort we measure with critical eye the public officials who serve us; we experiment with forms of government; we enact statutes and ordinances; we study and confer and debate.

These are man-made efforts to direct man-made governments along man-made paths of action. They are all necessary. But they are not enough.

There must be added the spark of divine guidance without which the whole enterprise will be futile. Our human efforts to act through government must be directed and inspired by the spiritual force of the Christian faith.

So many of us fail to perceive that spiritual values are real values which can be applied actually and constantly and successfully in our daily lives, in our every undertaking, in the conduct of all governmental affairs.

The ideals and truths of the Christian faith are not concepts to be held in a far-off corner of our being, to be regarded as a dream-world goal, a halo beyond human reach. They are very real and available implements of human conduct, capable of practical application. This is proven by the experience of 2,000 years. It is being demonstrated today by men and women in all walks of life, in every part of the globe, under every manner of circumstances.

In order to be useful to mankind, the precepts of Christianity must be practiced. Mental acceptance of the power of Christ, without the determination to work and act in Christ's name, is mere wishful thinking. So, there must be not only realization of the spiritual power which is available, but a willingness to exercise that power—to apply it in our daily lives, in all our relations of man to man.

All of us are part of the government. We are citizens, voters, tax-

payers, and some are officeholders. If, in all our relations to government, we give foremost consideration to Christian precepts; if we, with vigor and persistence, measure every issue that arises by the yardstick of Christian morality; if we make a conscious effort to draw upon the vast reservoir of spiritual force the whole tone and direction of government would inescapably rise to higher and higher levels.

The moral and spiritual force which the seven hundred million Christians of this world could wield is almost beyond human concept. Exercise of this great force could bring a solution to the troubles that beset the earth today. In this direction alone lies the hope of mankind.

The strength that comes from faith, the power that comes from prayer, the exultation that comes from the understanding and acceptance of the Christian idea—these are the forces which must be applied to government if we are to find our way out of the wilderness today.

International Labor Organization

The International Labor Organization was created at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 in the fundamental belief, as stated in its Constitution, that "universal peace . . . can be established only if it is based upon social justice." This concept was carried forward throughout the years and reaffirmed in the "Declaration of Philadelphia" of 1944, which stated that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere."

The ILO, a specialized agency of the United Nations, is unique in its tripartite system, which means that not only representatives of Governments but of workers and employers participate in its governing body, its conferences, and its committees. The United States has been a member since 1934.

J. D. Zellerbach, president of Crown Zellerbach Corp., says that "the living standards of America cannot be maintained permanently at a measurably higher level than those of the other civilized countries. Either we shall lift theirs to ours, or they will drag ours to theirs.

"We can tolerate a certain amount of spread in wages and labor standards between nations. We can offset part of this spread by our greater technical efficiency, insured as it is by our competitive enterprise system. Beyond that, the competitive advantages of low living standards and low labor costs will retard our progress. So whatever we can do to narrow the gap is directly to our advantage. To do this by lowering American standards is obviously an unthinkable course. The alternative is to bring up wage and labor standards in other countries, and it is in this respect that the ILO is of particular benefit to American industry."

CITIZENSHIP

HOW TO USE VOTING RECORDS

Voting records of members of the 80th Congress are being mailed to local pastors and S.E.A. officers. These records cover the vote on sixteen major bills in both Houses. Copies may be obtained free from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., or from Westminster Book Stores.

Posters

Two copies of the voting record placed to show both sides on a bulletin will give the full story.

The Westminster Fellowship "artists" can take off the names and record of your own Congressman and Senators and put it in "big," easy-to-read form. A good project for the Outreach Commission.

Public Meetings

Have a church-wide meeting on "The Christian and Government." Discuss "Christian Citizenship"; "The 80th Congress and Foreign Policy" (Economic, Military, People); "Domestic Policy"; "Voting a Christian Opportunity and Responsibility." Have questions and answers with each speaker.

Resources for Speakers

Christian Social Action—1948 Pronouncements of General Assembly.

All speakers should use the voting records, explain the issues and your own Congressman's voting. Indicate whether or not he voted in line with action of Presbyterian General Assembly. A bibliography of general resources on all topics is being prepared by the S.E.A. Division.

The last speaker can dramatically draw a word picture of countries today where voting is only a pretense, as compared to our opportunities. He should emphasize that those who stay away from the polls share the guilt of those who vote for unchristian policies. Be sure to explain the mechanics of voting. Your local party offices or county commissions can help you with this. A sample ballot and sample voting machine could be on hand.

Meet Your Congressman

The speakers who have participated in the above program, plus representatives of all organizations in your church, make a good group to meet with your Congressman and inquire why he voted as he did. If his votes have not been in line with official Church position, have a discussion with him along these lines.

This meeting might well be held in advance of the public meeting explained above and a report made to the entire group. Be very sure that all persons who interview your representatives are well informed on the issues, otherwise the meeting is not too valuable for either you or the Congressman.

Free Advice

The Church has a responsibility to educate its members, but it must always leave them free to act on their own individual convictions. Actions on legislative matters of the General Assembly are advisory to the local church and individual members. Moreover, you are acting politically only when you function within the political machinery of our country. That, we believe, is the responsibility of the individual and not of the church. Endorsing particular

candidates for office as an official church act would be acting politically. Endorsing issues, and advising political candidates of your action, is an educational matter.

REVIEW OF THE 80TH CONGRESS

Some 900 public laws were passed by the Congress, 1947-1948 sessions to June 19, 1948, many of limited scope and affecting only a small number of people.

Of eighteen major domestic matters proposed for the public interest in the second session, only three were passed: rent control, extension and strengthening of export and rail transport controls, and farm program. Eight major foreign issues were considered—six were passed and two crippled: Reciprocal Trades Act and Displaced Persons Bill.

Legislation endorsed by General Assembly which was passed:

Displaced Persons Bill (greatly crippled, needs strengthening as to numbers, and terms of admission should be broadened); Foreign Aid Program (E.R.P.); Interim Foreign Aid Bill; membership in International Refugee Organization; membership in World Health Organization; ratification of peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; Japanese-American Claims Act; Japanese and other Asiatics deportation rights made same as Europeans and other immigrants.

Legislation endorsed by General Assembly which was not passed:

Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill; increase of the legal minimum wage; civil rights bills: poll tax, antilynching, and F.E.P.C.; extension of social security coverage; equality in naturalization and immigration; statehood for Alaska and Hawaii; Capper Alcohol Advertising Control Bill.

Legislation opposed by General Assembly but passed by Congress was the peacetime draft bill.

Other significant legislation passed:

Taft-Hartley Labor Act; Reed-Bulwinkle Railroad Act (rate agreement); Armed Services Unification Act; authorization of 70 group air force; budget of 35 billion dollars, over 40 per cent of which is for national defense; $6,000,000 to aid overburdened school districts (144 schools are currently receiving aid. 13 new schools will be added because of reactivation of defense establishments); $500,000 for victims of national disaster; $70,000,000 for school lunches; Water Pollution Control Bill; National Heart Act with $3,000,000 appropriation; aid to Greece and Turkey; Vandenberg resolution for regional arrangements in foreign affairs (Preliminary conferences to underwrite the Brussels Pact by military aid from the U.S. are now under way in Washington); Wool Support bill; extension of reciprocal trade for one year.

Other significant legislation not passed:

Universal military training act; Mundt-Nixon Bill to curb Communist Party.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S FUND

This fund was created by the General Assembly of the United Nations. At the present time, the fund is caring for the supplementary feeding and clothing of approximately 4,000,000 children.

Congress has authorized the appropriation of $100,000,000 for this fund. Of this amount, $40,000,000 was previously appropriated. The House passed the appropriation for the remaining $60,000,000. The Senate reduced this to $20,000,000, largely for the following reasons:

(*a*) Because a portion of the fund was being used "behind the iron curtain" for children "who were affiliated in some way with families who were Communists or were in favor with the Governments, not to the children of parents who favored the democracies or who had no Communist feelings." (Senator Styles Bridges, Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee.)

(*b*) Because much of the money being appropriated for the European Recovery Plan will provide additional food and clothing for children in the countries participating in the program.

The final figure approved by Congress for this purpose was $35,000,000.

THE DRAFT AND ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

While the draft bill was under discussion in the House, an attempt was made by Representative Edward H. Rees, of Kansas, seconded by Representatives Stephen Pace, of Georgia, John Phillips, of California, William J. Miller, of Connecticut, A. Leonard Allen, of Louisiana, Joseph R. Bryson, of South Carolina, Brooks Hays, of Arkansas, Robert L. F. Sikes, of Florida, and Daniel A. Reed, of New York, to have written into the bill a provision preventing the sale of, or dealing in, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquors. This amendment at first carried on a rising vote 57 to 55, but was lost on a teller vote 72 to 54. It is obvious that a quorum of the House was not present at the time of the vote. (For information concerning the moral situation in the draft, refer to the editorial in this issue, page 16.)

Racial and Cultural Relations

A CHRISTIAN SEARCH FOR BROTHERHOOD

While the Democrats, Republicans, and Progressives were busy hammering out their bill of rights plank for their convention platforms in Philadelphia, within fifty miles of the convention city the first Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations was in session—smaller, to be sure, and without convention fanfare. No placards or banners were in evidence, and there were no raucous bands or television cameras. It was One World in microcosm, a little group of people banded together in Christian devotion to the cause of brotherhood and endeavoring to make real a bill of rights for the Presbyterian Church. The banner under which they worked was General Assembly's mandate for "a nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society." They sang with fresh fervor, "In Christ There Is No East or West."

The City of Brotherly Love has bid adieu to the nation's political conventions. Bunting and streamers are all down. Presidential candidates gird themselves for the arduous campaigns ahead. Party promises and pledges are studied for their relative merits and weaknesses. Now what about this other little convention on the outskirts of Philadelphia? What did it accomplish? Was this initial Institute a satisfaction to the delegates? Let the following letter speak for all even as it reflects the opinion of the one writing:

"It gives me a real sense of satisfaction and pleasure to write you my evaluation of the Institute at Lincoln University.

"The areas of our work in the four well-defined sections gave opportunity for all to participate. The resource persons laid the groundwork, and then in our discussion groups the conveners and recorders were able to get the breakdown. Free, unhampered discussion gave rise to the know-how and techniques of work.

"I feel that the procedure as followed through the day and the plenary session at night could not have been improved upon. The frankness with which the whole subject was approached and the honest

experience related by those present will go far toward removing the artificial barriers that now exist in our churches. I believe that from the information gathered, together with the techniques and the digest which we will soon have, we shall be able to reach the leaders of our churches and relate the facts which will create a more wholesome attitude, and eradicate one of the greatest evils of all time—segregation in the Christian Church."

For a closer look and a more detailed analysis of the findings of this Institute we turn to a specific item on the agenda, "The Church—an Inclusive Fellowship." What interpretation was given to this familiar definition, and what spelled-out techniques are offered for its fulfillment? The following blueprint issued from the discussions on this question:

THE CHURCH—AN INCLUSIVE FELLOWSHIP

I. Types of Situations That May Be Approached.
  A. Transition areas in the larger metropolitan centers.
  B. Areas where there are but few members of the minority group.
  C. Overlapping areas where there is a white church and a church of a minority race in some community.
  D. Areas where new churches are to be organized.

II. How Shall We Start?
  A. Transition Areas
    1. The minister serving the church knowing the pronouncements of the General Assembly should take the initiative.
    2. Having surveyed the situation himself, he should next make informal contact with a few persons who plan to remain in the area.
    3. Informal contact with key persons of those coming into the area.
    4. Lay the matter before the session for ratification or approval.
    5. With session approval, name a committee that will have responsibility for taking actual steps toward total integration.
  B. Areas Where There Are But Few Members of the Minority Group
    1. That the minister include minority group families in his list of visitations.
    2. That the members of the church be encouraged and instructed to be friendly, so as to make the church a place where warmth and genuine Christian fellowship are found.
    3. That the minority group be not looked down upon, nor treated in a paternalistic manner but received as human beings who are welcomed because they are persons.
  C. Overlapping Areas
    1. A strong pronouncement from the presbytery presented by the S.E.A. recommending that duplication and overlapping be eliminated and that the spirit of Christian brotherhood be practiced.
    2. That the two ministers in question work in close co-operation with one another through
      (*a*) Frequent exchange of pulpits.
      (*b*) Joint evening services.
      (*c*) Joint midweek services.
    3. Interracial joint committee to work for
      (*a*) Joint vacation church school with interracial study.
      (*b*) Joint Westminster Fellowship services.
      (*c*) Joint services between the men's and women's groups in the two churches.
  D. Where New Churches Are to Be Established
    1. Action of presbytery endorsing and commending the idea of an interracial brotherhood.

2. Petitioning committee be set up on an interracial basis.
3. When church is organized let there be total integration from the beginning.

Many such questions and issues were realistically faced. Answers and techniques were arrived at, growing out of years of experience in race relationships. These tested procedures are available to church officers, community leaders, and institutional executives. Write to the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, concerning subsequent conferences on problems faced within your own field of endeavor.

—*By William H. McConaghy.*

Challenged to practice the General Assembly pronouncement on "a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society," the Presbytery of Philadelphia faltered, repented, and finally expressed satisfaction over the passage of a fair employment practices ordinance in that city.

While the bill was still before the City Council (which eventually passed it unanimously: see May SOCIAL PROGRESS), the presbytery gained wide publicity as the only denomination which officially voted disapproval of the measure. According to the Pittsburgh *Courier*, leading Negro newspaper, this act cast doubt upon the sincerity of the Church's recent call for the elimination of discrimination in all Presbyterian agencies in Greater Philadelphia.

An aroused Social Education and Action Committee drew up a resolution repenting "its lack of appreciation of the Christian implication" of the FEPC. At the next meeting of presbytery the previous 62-58 negative vote was reversed when, 107-92, the group approved not only the local FEPC, but the "intent of the national civil rights program."

The Library Board of Charlottesville, Virginia, has closed its colored branch and made the main library available to all. The resolution ordering the change states that there is no occasion at this time for segregation of the races in their use of the city library, the operation of separate facilities is unnecessary, and the additional expense is unjustified.

Students of Schauffler College of Religious and Social Work, Cleveland, Ohio, chose Gloria Connolly, of Milford, Connecticut, an outstanding athlete and honor student, as Queen of the May. Schauffler's student body, which is twenty per cent Negro, has never before given this honor to a colored girl.

Acknowledgments

"Migrants: Neglected Americans," was used with permission of *The Child*, bulletin of the Children's Bureau.

Scripture quotation on page 5 is from the Revised Standard Version, copyright by the International Council of Religious Education, and is used by permission.

Miss Joy Returning to Lewis and Clark

Miss Adena Joy, who has been Editorial Assistant of the Division of Social Education and Action since the first of the year, on leave of absence from Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon, will return this fall to her position at the college and her work with students. The development of the new format for SOCIAL PROGRESS was among the last of the assignments which Miss Joy completed. She returns to Portland with the esteem and appreciation of the staff.

Labor Sunday Message, 1948

Requested to be read in the churches

Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through the Department of the Church and Economic Life, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, from which additional copies may be ordered.

This is a call to Christian thought and action.

On Labor Sunday, Christians should give special emphasis to the practical decisions that economic life daily forces men to make. Christian principles are involved in these decisions. It is the responsibility of churches to help men to discover what these principles are and what they mean for men as producers and consumers, as investors and citizens. The Church is under a divine imperative to call all men—but first its own members—to recognize God's Lordship over individual souls and the whole of life, the home, the farm, the factory, the market place, the banking house, and every form of associated activity in the community, nation, and world. It is his will that his Kingdom come on earth among men.

All the resources of the earth are gifts of God to all nations and peoples. Under the laws of men they become property, but God remains the absolute owner of "the earth . . . and the fulness thereof." This means that every form of human ownership or control or use of property is a trust with responsibility to God and one's fellow men. It must be kept under the most severe scrutiny in the light of the purpose of God's creation.

According to the Christian faith each person is made in the image of God, and hence has dignity and worth whatever his work or status. Hence, the worker must never be treated as a commodity but always as a person, whose well-being depends in large part upon the rewards and conditions of his labor.

No economic system fully serves the common good. No such system fully expresses the will of God. Improvement of economic arrangements is, therefore, the obligation of all Christians. It is their duty to see that economic arrangements serve human welfare and that the welfare of society is not sacrificed for the sake of the economic system.

Growth of large-scale enterprise and technological developments, with the consequent integration of control and large-scale financing, tend to produce a concentration of economic power. This has been accompanied by a growing feeling of economic insecurity. These changes have made it increasingly clear to men that they are helpless in coping individually with major economic forces around them. Joint action for mutual aid and protection has become an imperative necessity to those who depend on their labor for a living.

Christians who share in the control of economic power, whether in management or as representatives of organized labor, have a special responsibility to direct economic forces toward service to the whole society.

In the present world situation there are real conflicts of emphasis among such positive

values as freedom and order and justice. The neglect of anyone will soon make an economic system intolerable because each of these is a necessary part of God's purpose for economic life. All systems must be tested by the extent to which they conform to God's will as revealed in Christ.

What then are principles and objectives which should guide Christians in their judgment upon economic institutions and in the personal decisions which they make in their various occupations?

1. There should be a minimum standard of living to which every person has access. Such a minimum should be sufficient for health, cultural growth, and protection against hardships beyond one's control. It must be recognized that such a minimum standard will be conditioned by the relation of production to population.

2. All persons have the moral right to equal opportunities to develop their capacities. To make equal opportunities available to all children and youth is, therefore, a special responsibility of the Christian community.

3. Every able-bodied man and woman has the moral right and duty to serve the community in the home, through work under conditions that assure fair compensation, and through voluntary community service.

4. Economic decisions are in large measure group decisions for which both political and economic forms of organization are necessary. The Christian's responsibility includes his taking a vigorous part in those political and economic activities which hold the greatest promise for the realization of Christian objectives. All persons have a moral right to such participation regardless of race, creed, color, or sex.

5. The churches have been right in giving encouragement to the development of the labor movement, both as an instrument for the securing of greater economic justice and as a source of both dignity and morale for workers. Yet, in specific issues that may today separate labor and management, the Church should not prejudge the rightness of either group. While making judgments in particular cases, it should concentrate on the encouragement of all those processes which are in harmony with its ministry of reconciliation.

6. Every national policy must be judged by its consequences for the lives of people in all lands and by its effect upon the economic basis for a peaceful world. There should be tolerance toward the economic experiments and institutions of other peoples, though these must be judged by the same moral principles as our own.

Labor Sunday presents a clear call to every Christian to consider earnestly the possibility and the means of attaining a more Christian economic life than now exists. It summons him to re-examine his own relationships as employer or employee, as buyer or seller. It requires each Christian to revaluate his position on the grave economic issues that have emerged upon the field of political action. Labor Sunday calls him to ask of himself and to give answer—after rigid self-analysis—concerning his economic activities: Am I right or wrong? Am I selfish or generous? Am I loving my neighbor as myself, or am I taking an unfair advantage over him? How truly Christian am I in my part of the economic life of this nation and of the world?

About Books

Ideas Have Consequences, by Richard M. Weaver. The University of Chicago Press. $2.75.

Dr. Weaver, of the University of Chicago faculty, has thought deeply and written carefully, but many people will not thank him for his product. In what he characterizes as another book about the dissolution of the West, he undertakes two tasks. One is to give an account of that dissolution, based not upon analogy but upon deduction, assuming that what he sees is not the result of some kind of determinism, but of man's unintelligent choice. The other is to suggest a solution in the belief that man should not follow scientific analysis with pleas of moral impotence. He is concerned that modern man has banished the reality which is perceived by the intellect, and has set in its place a different kind of reality which is discovered by the senses. Our culture is decadent because we are immersed in particulars. There is no longer any concensus about fundamental values, not even enough to hold together political states. The fate of modern Germany, the one totally literate nation, is an example of what occurs when a people is so intrigued by the vast number of facts now available that it turns away from consideration of first principles.

If the author is thinking of religion in any conventional or organized sense, he does not say so. But he early makes the point that man really lives by sentiment which should be an "unsentimental sentiment." Our age has repudiated this truth, and has tried to live by "facts" instead.

Modern men are shaped by the "Great Stereopticon." It takes many forms, but the most potent are journalism, the movies, and the radio. What we read, what we see in powerful dramatic presentation on the screen, and, above all, what is thrown at us over the air, is skillfully planned and predigested by the few who order our lives. Thus is formed the pattern of our culture. Our age exalts the technician and depreciates the philosopher. The man who is an expert in a very little is chosen to determine the course of history, rather than the man who has taken the trouble to know the history of the race. Modern man is a "spoiled child." Scientists, and especially their false propagandists and popularizers, have given him the impression that there is nothing that he cannot know, and almost nothing that he cannot have.

The last three chapters are an endeavor to suggest the solution. Unexpectedly, the author identifies the "Last Metaphysical Right" as the right of private property. But this is no conventional defense of the enterprise system which he sees as often interfering with the fundamental right of individuals to hold property to use as their own. He writes of the importance of language as the "Power of the Word" in a plea for the humanities. And finally, the chapter on "Piety and Justice" emphasizes the importance of respect for nature, for our neighbors, and for the past.

—*Herbert Nelson Brockway.*

Reinhold Niebuhr: Prophet from America, by D. R. Davies. The Macmillan Company. $2.00.

"Reinhold Niebuhr is a gift of God to a tortured and troubled world. He is, by any standard of judgment whatsoever, a leading, if not the leading, theorist in the contemporary revolution in Christian thought."

Thus writes Britain's D. R. Davies in

his lucid and stimulating interpretation of this American theologian and Christian revolutionary.

After a brief account of Niebuhr's life, Davies studies his philosophy as revealed in his writings. He shows that Niebuhr combines the searching, fact-finding spirit and religious insight of the prophet. His theology comes straight from the furnace of social conflict and tragedy.

Davies lists the lights by which "the Christian revolutionary in being" steers his course—the applicability of the Gospel to every social situation, the emphasis on the individual as a person, the element of humility by which the prophet sees himself as standing under the judgment which he pronounces on society, and the comprehension and balance which come from appreciation of permanent values in both sides of the conflict.

Although primarily concerned with the revolutionary aspects of Niebuhr's life and work, the little book (102 pages) contains a splendid exposition of some of the main elements of Niebuhr's contribution to modern theological thought. The book is recommended to those who have not read much of Niebuhr's writings and who want to know about the man and his work.

—*Clifford Earle.*

New Song in a Strange Land, by Esther Warner. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

While her husband worked as research botanist on a Liberian rubber plantation in West Africa, Esther Warner made friends with the native people. She uses her book not to tell of their lives but to sing their song. Catching the rhythms and cadences of their simple lives, she finds an answering melody within her own heart. She calls the song new and the land strange. But, reading the book, one feels that the simple goodness of the African's life is not a thing queer and incomprehensible to our "civilized" minds, but a quality of life as old as man—but forgotten.

The book is generously illustrated with prints by Jo Dendel—illustrations that seem not added but a part of the whole. They make even more clear and penetrating this song of the childlike man.

One of the loveliest characterizations is of Sahda, the beautiful and imaginative Vai woman. Mrs. Warner makes vivid the building of a new house for her and Quay-Quay, her husband, by the whole village—men, women, and children.

"I walked to Buapwa in time to see the building of Quay-Quay's new house. Sahda was radiant and even more beautiful than before her pregnancy. . . . I had admired the mud structures I had seen on the old plantation, but it was not until I had lived in Buapwa and had seen the jungle and river with Sahda's eyes that I realized the noble beauty of native houses. . . . After having seen and felt and smelled the setting, the forest and the river and the old houses of the villages in their many, ever changing aspects, I was ready to watch the exciting event of Quay-Quay's new house mushrooming its fresh erect stalk and cap into the sky. He had bought a cow for the big festivity and Sahda was busy supervising preparations for the feast. . . .

"When the construction was finished Sahda hung her wind chimes under the eaves, and Quay-Quay's old pa hung some luck medicine over the door. While the people feasted and danced noisily, I stood in the moonlight with Sahda to admire her new home. '*Inyoms,*' she said, and felt for my hand. It is the Vai word for 'sister.' I was deeply grateful that she did not add '*ghema,*' which means 'white.' The happenstance that she had been born with more pigment in her skin than I had nothing to do with it. We were just two women standing there in the moonlight with clasped hands looking at a beautiful new house which would soon be a home."

Strangely, it is not until one lays down the book that the full haunting beauty of the song comes through to the consciousness. In the recesses of the spirit it lingers,

like the strain from a symphony heard long after the sound is gone.

—*Beth Prideaux.*

Interracial Programs of Student Y.W.C.A.'s, by Yolanda B. Wilkerson. The Woman's Press. $2.00.

This is a well-conceived, well-executed study, which should be especially pleasing to logical minds because of the very concise outline followed: "Purpose and Scope;" "Evaluation Criteria"; "Extent and Nature of the Interracial Problems"; "Extent and Nature of the Interracial Programs"; "Interracial Program Successes, Failures, and Accomplishments"; "Experiences and Judgments of Alumni"; "Summary and Recommendations." Along with these descriptive chapters go the Statistical Tables on which the writing is based.

One must admire the frankness and the courage with which failures are admitted and assessed. The clear thinking and forward-looking planning embodied in the final recommendations are evidence of an ability to face facts and use them for constructive plans for the future.

One hopes that this volume will not be doomed to languish unread on dusty bottom shelves, but will find its way into the hands of those who will really read it, and put into action what they have read.

—*M. W. Driscoll.*

Lost Boundaries, by William L. White. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.50.

The dilemma of the part Negro, light enough to pass as white, but still considered by the law as colored, is factually reported in this little book. In contrast to the irrational and scarcely admirable Neil Kingsblood of Sinclair Lewis' *Kingsblood Royal,* Albert Johnston, Jr., is honest and realistic as he searches for the best way to live his difficult life. After sixteen years of believing himself to be white, the confusion of finding he is part Negro leads him to the brink of mental unbalance. Finally he publically declares his heritage, not on a morbid impulse like Neil Kingsblood, but to preserve his own sense of personal integrity. The book ends on a note of triumph and hope.

Epistle to White Christians, by Fred D. Wentzel. Christian Education Press. $1.50.

Prejudice is sin, according to Fred Wentzel, director of publications for the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and active pioneer in Philadelphia's Fellowship House. In flowing prose and with a gentle spirit, he exposes the depth of selfishness, greed, and ignorance of which his white brothers have been guilty. He then points the way to the straight but joyous pathway of living in equal fellowship with all men.

A Mask for Privilege, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown & Company. $2.75.

Important and interesting data on the history of the Jews and of anti-Semitism is presented throughout the chapters of this book. Typically, McWilliams explains unique features of anti-Semitism as related to the Jews' middle-class economic status, vigorously denouncing, however, the myth that they hold a dominant position. Sociological explanations and examples of prejudice will be enlightening to the beginner; rather trite for others.

Witnesses for Freedom, by Rebecca Chalmers Barton. Harper & Brothers. $3.50.

The author's purpose—to trace the development of Negro philosophy through contemporary autobiography—is original and challenging, but not fully achieved. The catagorizing of twenty Negroes someplace between Booker T. Washington and Richard Wright seems at times to have been arbitrary if not capricious. Stimulating reading for those who already are familiar with many of our outstanding Negro thinkers; misleading for others.

—*Adena Joy.*

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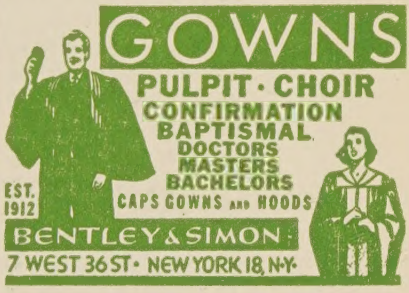

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